301 The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
237 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[381] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanĩ, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
●[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterĩ and Urukumũ, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumũ wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterĩ. Panterĩ likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
776 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterĩ [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topí). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topí), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topí, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the [821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topí and many souls of shamans near [775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and 292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled 781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized [292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of [23] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the [821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told [753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

292 The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not 285 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated 114 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1). The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way", in his
diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
•776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs,
they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light,
for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently
seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the
fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé
never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the
labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest,
far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be
soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied
in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods,"
a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must
announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not
quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out
in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon
was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members
of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing
the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had
been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man
and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant
to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon
the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also
adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring
woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by
standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

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601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the societies or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of anüngo (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *anüngo ïänuera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fall from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *aygnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wará, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

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796 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 787 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [778] [529] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 776 787 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi aaká*. They

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[777] [563] [777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many socó (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ančúnga* had several pots of *kauí* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kauí* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kauí* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kauí* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *ančúnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *ovéya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *ovéya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ančúnga aná awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ančúnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kauí* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancúnga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Taparipé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *perapi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold: it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kepia xawana*,

(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapirapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *anciinga* called *anpukága* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Canajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from re-

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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THE THUNDER CEREMONY

In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various supernaturaries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pancé-iánwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pancé iánwera*, and finally, *topí* (28).

Topí are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topí* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topí*'s canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-iánwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topí*'s arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topí* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who made the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 32-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topí* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pančé-ãnwèra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others reenacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *ančãnga aiwiró*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãuuanõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ˝ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the same
terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
● [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ˝ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxíná) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuíra. The word vuíra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxí, and Vuírantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĭ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĭva. 264 622 476 651 The ãntaĭva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĭ́ and Urukumĭ́. (Although Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

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memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated. Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura rufiata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lectur*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

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but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non-violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plentifully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people,

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arawete and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumé.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Tupinamba version.

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and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, maniac, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15] One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (per-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, *Religion des Tupinamba*, p. 51.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topïi*. *Topïi* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topïi* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topïi*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topïi's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topïi*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topïi*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topïi* tries to grab its small feather headdress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topïi*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topïi* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topii*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topii* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topii* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*aygnan, agnin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pancbe*) see malevolent beings in their dream travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a

[23] When the Tapirapé have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

881
292
302

292
781
276

315

292
532
776

PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

The ančunga iïnwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaó) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topũ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (*panté*) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

Charles Wagley

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Champukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[754] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for
683 he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not certain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[682] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[715] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of
[716] one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchaveps*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.